476 602 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened by this. A household that is apart from the others can request 476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency, 558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever 609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior. 592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower 361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 612 621 Differences are thus observable between a household which lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 592 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30 592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

428 471 602 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there- [241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231 556 612 2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes, goats, horses) among the three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 471 558 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 556 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be regarded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

178 /105 cont./ followers manifested itself have changed. The
571 general characteristics to be met with today are the following:

The higher person is connected with a number of lower ones, his people. The latter work his sawahs in the broadest sense of the word, that is to say, from the first tilling to the delivery of sheaves at his house. They take care of his maize gardens and guard his langsap trees when they bear fruit. They run errands for him in the pasars; they carry wood and water for daily use, do repairs on the house, manufacture the common utensils from bamboo or wood, and finally assist at a festival held by their master by performing the innumerable little tasks. On the other hand, those inferiors who are unmarried and live with their master have their food and clothing provided for them, and there is the chance that their master will let them marry and provide their wedding feast. Once they are married, the couple is provided with a dwelling and has a number of sheaves delivered to its house after the harvest. This lower person then lives apart with his family but remains in daily contact with his master by way of the tasks which he has to perform. Since he remains closely connected with his master, he is permitted to participate in the festivals that break up the monotonous kampong existence, and he shares in the social standing which is displayed on these occasions.

There is never a question of a firm agreement at the be-
[675] ginning of the relationship. The tie may be broken at any moment. Such a rupture, however, always takes place only gradually. An abrupt break is avoided, /106/ because this indicates quarreling and because it is thought to be better if one leaves before the conflict breaks out.

178 The tie between a higher person and his people is
557 advantageous to both parties in their striving to rise. To lose
● 558 a follower implies a diminution of social standing for the
571 higher person. Here his generosity to his people is of importance. The superior who has a reputation for making his

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
558 his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang.
643 Aroe Bakara had never the-
652 less obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaëng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 562 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play 857 together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants 855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

857 Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed 867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia) means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
● 558 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
626 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri', " she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

158 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency
181 which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the koro phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There
626 are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live
558 alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become siri'. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be siri' because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in
[369] Macassar as well as in the larger pasar places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The pasar place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

[581] [558] One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about [586] through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

554 /210 cont./ A woman "may not go down." Impairment of
[558] her social standing constitutes for her male relatives, and especially for her brother, an affront to their striving to rise. They are injured in one of the very few fixed points which they possess.

565 A Makassarese stands in a relationship of cooperation to a superior or an inferior. High and low have common interests. Together they are best able to realize their own aspirations to rise. The lack of an opposition element lends their mutual relationship an emotional security which is absent elsewhere.

An expression of competition between an inferior and a superior entails an impairment of existing relationships between high and low. The reaction to such an impairment is generally
554 a sharp repudiation. The superior tries to maintain existing
565 relationships because these give him emotional security which he lacks elsewhere, because his attempts to rise can only be successful through his tie with inferiors, and finally because his rights and duties towards inferiors provide him with advantages that he does not like to be without.

684 Violation of contact prohibitions between a man and a
554 higher woman also signifies for a Makassarese an impairment
565 of an important, fixed point of comparison in his striving for high /status/, and an impairment of the existing relation between high and low. Thus it means the impairment of two elements that are of essential importance to him in his culture. He faces a situation with which he feels himself unable to cope, and in his opinion there remains nothing else to do than to kill the person who has done this to him (adjallo').

That a violation of the contact prohibition between a man and a higher woman is indicated by the same term as that between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ probably means only that it is regarded as equally serious.

554 Such violation is therefore more serious than if contact
684 prohibitions are violated between equals or near equals. In the

554 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social
571 standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not
177 react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman
● 558 may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for
689 the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impair-
627 ment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use, " or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which [583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 627 588 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

588 /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made
684 in 1938 to the effect that a
[114] deeper knowledge of the
Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons
that lead to a silariang
marriage has therefore proved
incorrect. See /Ibid./
Vol. 149, p. 334.

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the
684 man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then
[626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because
●[558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

[571] When she is being discussed, one of the older women, sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
[602] at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say, they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[542] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the
● 558] younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

588 /223 cont./ leaves alone or with the man. I call it an
684 accident, for instance, whether she succeeds in arranging a rendezvous for the flight through an intermediary. The fear that upon (unintentional) forbidden contact, the reaction will be a /224/ stab with the knife is always one of the motives for her flight.

588 When a woman flees to a man, the latter can do nothing
626 but go with her. He would be no "man," not even in the
558 opinion of his own kin group, if he did not do so. Rather than letting it be said of him that he "flees from a woman," he goes with her to the village or religious functionary, marries, and in so doing invites all the difficulties which a silariang marriage brings with it. Then he behaves as beseems a man.

588 It is assumed as a matter of course that a woman who
626 takes refuge with a man has reason for this. The man who
684 refuses marriage in such a case can be sure that he will no longer be an acceptable guest to many people. It is regarded as very reprehensible to make a girl siri' and then not to marry her. I was able to record only two instances of this.

684 When a girl of approximately thirteen years of age had taken refuge with a man of about twenty-six, the latter denied that he had given cause for this. He had known her a long time, so he said, and his feelings toward her had
[626] merely been those of a brother. He lamented what she had done because now they were both siri' in his opinion, she, because she fled, and he because many would be unwilling to accept his refusal and would therefore be loath to receive him in their houses. It is noteworthy about this statement that this man placed the siri' feeling of the woman beside his own. Thus, he ascribes to her siri' feelings which normally only men are supposed to possess, feelings which arise when an attempt, made in public, to attain something fails.

In the other example, the man admitted that he did have some fun with the woman who fled to him (bandjulu',

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him. 584 834

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans. 125

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's. 565 558 567

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell plenty in order to send him to school. 855

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 567 558 166 152 000